

/139 cont./

372 are made in one of the sticks, and the rounded end of the other stick fits into them. [Figs. 1, 2, and 3 appear here.]

The first stick is placed on the ground and held down with both feet. The other stick is placed with its round end in one of the hollows, and it is twirled as rapidly as possible between the flat palms of the hands. As can be seen in the picture Photo. 19), the hands slide downward during this process, and frequently a second man immediately starts at the top when the hands of the first operator have moved all the way down. A kind of tinder of thoroughly dried birds' nests (weaver bird?) is placed around the bored hole. The fine dust from the twirling begins to smoulder after a few minutes, and the tinder is then fanned to a flame by blowing with the mouth.

[622] The "captain" (aichab) of the settlement sees to it that the fire does not go out. A "sacred" fire does not exist. Keeping the fire from going out is a matter of sheer practicality since twirling to make fire is, after all, fairly strenuous.

354 A few stones, which, incidentally, are not found everywhere in the Kalahari, represent the hearth. In rainy weather cooking is done inside the windscreen.

462 The woman does the cooking while the children help her. In exceptional cases the paterfamilias may busy himself at the cooking fire.

On occasion all the members of a family will go out to get water and wood. Construction of the house is purely woman's work. Bachelors' huts are likewise built by the women of the horde.

415 Wooden cooking pots exist. Supposedly they are obtained
439 through barter from the Ambo.

● 322 The Auen either carves primitive spoons out of wood himself,
415 or he obtains them through barter from the region of the Ngami
[439] [Lake Ngami?]. Frequently special artists at carving are to be found among the older men. The upper, concave part of a
415 small turtle shell, whose lower, flat side has been cut off, often
[321] serves as a spoon.

These shells are also used as drinking vessels, and, along with hollowed-out tschama, they are the only drinking vessels that I found.

/139 cont./

412 Mortars are made of wood and have a stone floor. Their
322 construction is extremely laborious. A block of wood is buried in the ground, stamped down, and then hollowed out with the iron point of the lance or a knife. For this purpose, the iron is sometimes heated. Fire is not used. The wooden pestle is furnished with a stone at one end. The stone on the floor of the [381] mortar is cemented with tree resin.

[373] Burning branches are used as a kind of torch, but only briefly in the vicinity of the fire.

Photograph 18 illustrates the shape of the mortar and the pestle. The mortar is made of soft wood hollowed out with a lance point. Fire is not used to hollow it out (see above).

Household utensils. Two flat stones to pound hard veld 415 fruit. Spoons crudely carved out of wood. Wooden pot or empty ostrich eggs /140/ with a round hole as water containers. Fre- [531] quently some kind of decoration is applied. Digging stick [412] pointed at one end.

301 Ornamentation. Unfortunately I did not have time to ob-
531 tain more precise data concerning ornamentation. Ornaments are attached to many objects and consist of such things as ostrich eggs and pipe plugs (which are worn on a string around the neck).

264 Generally speaking, the Auen has three meals a day (morn- ing, afternoon, and evening). If he has enough food, however, he may eat all day long, with the necessary intervals, and, if it is not too cold, even during the night.

262 There is no special menu. Whatever is available is eaten. The hyena is not eaten because it "devoûrs corpses." The leopard is supposedly not eaten by all the people. The reason for this is unknown to me. The shabrack jackal is frequently spurned because it "is a dog." On the other hand, they like to eat the silver jackal, because it "does not eat vermin."

[858] Young girls who have not yet menstruated and boys before
[882] they have reached adulthood may not eat game meat because if they did, they would "remain skinny."

266 I have never observed any traces of cannibalism. Further- more, I was told by old, experienced natives of other races (Klipp Kaffir) that they had never heard of Bushmen eating human flesh.

[62]

Chapter 7

The Bushmen of the North

114 Our best information concerning the Masarwa comes from Dornan (1) and Holub (2). In what follows an outline sketch will

[113]

1. Dornan, Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

2. Holub, Die Masarwa.

be given of the culture of this tribe, based upon these two authors.

342

(245) According to Dornan, the Masarwa once preferred to live in caves, where their ancestors had made paintings. The Bushmen in the Wankie and Ngami districts have plaited mats of grass or reed, with which they cover their windscreens. Sometimes they make a kind of roof covered with grass; otherwise they have ordinary windscreens.

[532]

[172]



Fig. 21a. Representation of a Curing Scene. In the background, the female doctor who serves as oracle. (Eastern Cape Province. From J. P. Johnson, The Prehistoric Period in South Africa, 1910.)

[113]

● 322

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For the wood of the bow the Masarwa use very straight little tree trunks. After the bark is removed, they are tied to a straight tree and left to dry. The wood is then given its final drying over the fire and is placed in water so that it will not splinter. The middle of the bow is also commonly wound with tendons. The bow is often greased and never unstrung. The finished bow is smoothed with a rough stone.

inch long and less than a quarter of an inch wide. No flowers were seen on the expedition, but from herbarium records it is known that they are yellow and tubular and produce papery pods two inches long and half an inch wide. The pods split down their centre when they are mature.

This plant is known from the northern Cape, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa, and was widespread and fairly frequent north and south of Ghanzi.

Although it is not an edible plant it is nevertheless a producer of food, for all the Bushman digging-sticks seen were made from it. The only preparation is that the bark is peeled off, the spines trimmed, and one of the ends cut at a slant. The stick is about four feet long. In sandy soils and for the type of digging usually required it is a more efficient tool than a spade. It may be made to loosen a narrow cylinder of earth, and this cylinder, if a little wider than the object sought, is all that is necessary. With a spade on the other hand it is usually impossible to avoid a funnel-shaped excavation which entails the removal of far more soil.

Catophractes alexandri D. Don (4893) Photograph 52.

!h5: Bushman.....	n'ain'ai
!ganakwe Bushman...	!ga:!!gaba
!gikwe Bushman.....	ga:giba:
Naron Bushman.....	n'ain'ai

A five-foot erect silvery bush with opposite leaves, some brightly coloured in the autumn and winter. They often bear slender sharp spines in their axils, which afterwards develop into branches and bear leaves and spines in their turn. The leaves and younger woody parts are covered with a dense white wool, but this afterwards disappears from the woody parts and they become a reddish brown. The flowers, which are about two inches long, are white, trumpet-shaped and showy, and produce a pod covered with short blunt prickles and up to three inches long, dark and woody when mature and splitting down the centre. The seeds have a circular-membranous wing round them.

The plant is recorded from Angola, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Transvaal. It was fairly frequent south and north of Ghanzi, in patches down the banks of pans, on limestone, and occasionally also on slight slopes in sandy country.

Catophractes alexandri is not a food plant but deserves mention because of its importance in the preparation of food—it is used as a fire-drill together with *Grewia retinervis*, as is described in the notes on that species.

Corallocarpus sphaerocarpus Cogn. (5020, 5138, 5230) Photograph 53.

!gikwe Bushman.....	!hurugo
Naron Bushman.....	!horo
Eastern !khû Bushman	!horo

A very variable plant creeping by means of tendrils over shrubs and low trees, and with sparse leaves, dissected or lobed and rough to the touch, rising in groups or singly from nodes on the rather sappy stem. The leaves are not flat even when perfectly fresh, but inrolled slightly at the margins as though they were beginning to wilt. Three or four sessile half-inch ovoid fruits are borne in a cluster at the nodes as well, which in

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

SOCIAL TENSIONS AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

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SINEWS

Made and used by men

bow-strings
wrappings for arrow-shafts (the poison
adheres well to sinew)
blinding for hawks
snarcs

Made by men, used by all

strings for //gushu (musical instrument)

Made by men or women

fine rolled cord

HORN

Made and used by men

horns fitted with leather covers for carry-
ing arrow-points
horns for cupping

Used by all

horns for pipes
horns for spoons

SHELL

Made by men, used by all

ostrich egg-shell water-containers
tortoise-shell dippers
tortoise-shell containers

Made by women

ostrich egg-shell beads

FEATHERS

Used by boys on jani toys

Worn by all occasionally in hair

[239]

VEGETABLE MATERIALS

WOOD

Made and used by men

bows
spear handles
axe or adze handles
knife handles
knife sheaths
spring-hare hook handles¹
fire-making sticks
hatchet bow (musical instrument) (few)

Made by men, used by all

digging sticks
carrying sticks
stirring sticks
mortars and pestles
bowls
spoons
fire scrapers
//gushu (musical instrument)
one-stringed violin
jani toys
beads

Made by women

frames for scherms

FIBRES

(from *sansiveria*, aloe, /ma tree roots,
other roots)

Rolls by men and women
cord

Made and used by men

carrying-nets
snarcs

Made and used by all

ornaments

GRASS

Made by men and women

stoppers for ostrich egg-shell water-con-
tainers
ornaments

Made by women

schermes

Made by children

toys of grass folded and woven to suggest
animals

Used by all for beds

burrows. They seldom succeed but keep on trying.
They carry only the hook around with them and
whenever they need a handle they make a new one.

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[283]

824
462

[524]

[411]
[419]
284

¹ Bushmen use sticks 12 to 15 feet long made of
flexible rods in 3 or 4 sections, with a hook fastened
to the end, to hook spring-hares which live in deep

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed *guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and tsf nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

INDUSTRIES AND TRADE

143

finds expression in the numerous observances and beliefs developed in relation to the sources of water, and especially to the rain. Here, however, we may note how the Bushmen cope in practice with this ever-present problem. 182
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Caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water are often buried in the ground or hidden in a tree for future use, and to steal them is one of the greatest offences in Bushmen life. When even these have given out, a substitute is found in various succulent plants, especially the */naras* and the *tsama*, which contain enough moisture to relieve thirst and which are still available for the first part of the dry season. In some parts of the Kalahari water may still be found below the surface at this time, and to obtain it the people make use of an ingenious filter. A hole is dug in the sand where the green colour of the grass indicates the presence of the subterranean water, and with a reed tube to the lower end of which is attached a bundle of grass they painfully suck out drop by drop the water that has collected below, then carefully transfer it to the egg-shell bottles. But when even this resource fails them, they are compelled to make hurried marches back to the permanent waterholes, to which they cling until the coming of the rainy season again enables them to move out into the sand veld and resume their normal hunting life.¹ 312
[685]
[824]
[271]
[221]

INDUSTRIES AND TRADE

Industries

Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the Bushmen have need of little but their weapons and utensils. Their household possessions are few, for they seldom own more than they can conveniently carry about with them, and all their industries are essentially domestic.² 511

From wood they make their huts, the staves of their bows and spears, quivers for their arrows, digging-, throwing-, and firesticks, the long barbed stick used for catching spring hares and other burrowing animals, the poison sticks on which the arrow poison is gathered in lumps after it has been prepared, the spits (sometimes 322
[342]
[411]
[412]

¹ Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 51; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, II, 297; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 51, 70-1, and fig.; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 671-3; Seiner, "Berelung der Omaheke," 293-4.

² The most comprehensive account of Bushman industries is to be found in Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammmlung Hennemann," *Jh. n. d. Mus. Leipzig*, v (1911-12), 89-113, pl. xxiii-xxix, which relates chiefly to the Auen; cf. also van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements"; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 62-80; Passarge, op. cit., 81-94; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 297-301; Kaufmann-op. cit., 152-3; Schultze, op. cit., 648 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 257; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 8-18 passim; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 109. [114]

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- 322 decorated with burned lines) on which meat is roasted, and scoops
 [412] for hoeing out the earth loosened with the digging-stick. The North-
 [415] western tribes also manufacture wooden cooking pots (sometimes
 decorated with burned patterns of simple design), calabashes for
 holding fat and other liquids, eating vessels and spoons, as well as
 pestles and mortars, the latter often provided with a stone bottom,
 [283] which are used for pounding up dried berries, etc. Wood fibre is
 twisted into cord, from which they prepare their snares and sometimes
 their bow-strings and make nets for carrying their belongings.
 824 Reeds provide them with arrow-shafts and with the tubes for
 285 sucking up water, as well as with the material from which they make
 [412] their fish-traps and weave closely-stranded mats for sifting ants'
 eggs. Reed mats are also occasionally used in the building of their
 huts.
 237 Ostrich egg-shells are converted into bottles for holding water,
 [415] and are also broken up into very small pieces from which the women
 [306] make their beads. Tortoise-shells are used as spoons and scoops,
 412 and are also made into powder boxes for containing *buchu*. Small
 324 drills are made of stone for the manufacture of ostrich egg-shell
 beads, larger ones for the manufacture of serpentine pipes; two or
 [439] three stones are also used as anvils for working the iron obtained by
 [326] barter, or for the purpose of grinding berries, and besides these a few
 smaller stones are to be seen used for hammer stones or rubbing stones.
 178 The other types of stone implements, which link up the Bushmen with
 324 the prehistoric cultures of South Africa, are now almost certainly no
 [323] longer made; nor, too, are the crude pots of clay formerly used by
 the Cape Bushmen.
 281 From the skins of animals killed in the chase, again, are made
 karosses, loin cloths, sandals, caps, leather bags, quivers, tobacco
 pouches, etc. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing
 the shafts of the bows and arrows, and as thread for sewing skins,
 while in some cases it also provides the string for the nets in which
 321 personal belongings are carried. The long bones of the ostrich and
 various kinds of big game are used for making the foreshafts and
 points of arrows, while other bones are made into knives, awls, pipes,
 etc. Horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers
 for carrying arrow-points during the rainy season, implements for
 [237] stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc., while
 [415] the stomach of large animals, when not required for food, is fashioned
 into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water.